[For additional information about sacred objects and places, and associated rituals, see category 116, pp. 35-42, 51-54, 72-92, 96-107, 113-120.]

/119 cont./

Mammiferous animals are few in number. With the exception of a few vicuna I do not remember seeing any the whole extent of the "canton." Chipaya tales have a small rodent, the toxo (Ctenomys sp. or Octodon sp.) and the fox (Canis azarae, Wied). Further on a description will be given of a bloody sacrifice offered to a stuffed tiger cat (titi-mal'ku), promoted to the rank of protecting fetish of a group of huts. This feline is perhaps the Felis colocolo, Molina, which one meets at /120/ this altitude. Another protecting animal of the huts is a bird of prey reminiscent of our hawks, a stuffed specimen of which I also saw. Since, according to my interpreter, these mal'ku, or household spirits, are common in the whole Aymara area, it is quite possible that the examples preserved in Chipaya may have been sold to our Indians by Aymara peddlers who deal in magical substances and objects.

The village. The village (Map 2 /see p. 18a/) is divided into two parts separated by an entirely free zone about 230 meters wide in the middle of which stands the church with its attached chapels, the cemetery, and the prison. Each of these districts corresponds to a saya (Aymara word), an ancient territorial subdivision which we have already found in the Inca empire under the related name of suyu (1). This bipartite division of all the

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 19]

1. The division of Aymara communities into two sections was already mentioned in the sixteenth century. Cf. "Relación de la Provincia de los Pacajes /Report on the Province of the Pacajes/" (Relaciones geográficas de Indias, published by M. Jímenez de la Espada; Madrid, Vol. II, 1885, pp. 58-64), p. 58: "And the first thing the said Topa Yupangui did was to appoint caciques, chiefs,

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/122 cont./

The chapels are surrounded by an enclosure and before the portal stands an oratory or a cross from which emanates a whole series of small chapels and oratories which follow each other in close succession for five or six kilometers. These strings of sacred buildings correspond in every respect to the zeque (1) of Cuzco, the

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1. Ondegardo (Informaciones acerca de la religión y gobierno de los Incas /Accounts concerning the Religion and Government of the Incas/, Part I, p. 114: "Many others, men and women, have charge of set huacas, of which particular account is given in the general letter about Cuzco, which is common in the whole realm and includes all the places which are distinguished from the others in some way, whether near the town or even as far away as the mountain peaks, if it is rugged country, and which they call apachetas, such as some large stones, and all the puquios and springs of water, or some level places which they build on some slope, or some specific trees, or the places where they sow the maize for the sacrifices, because all of these things are divided off by their ceques and boundaries around every town and are in the charge of persons who make within them different sacrifices for diverse effects, in some so that women may become pregnant, in others because they say that from them come the ice or the hail, and in others so that it may rain. Thus in this way does the Inca teach them this division of places

I 346 778

/122 cont./ in all that was conquered, charging them greatly with the benefit which they would receive in notifying everyone in his land of what they had and could make use of for their necessities, which today they do by the same system and have persons designated who understand this, and thus it is necessary in all the towns to have them make a map, and, seeing the map of Cuzco, then they will do it...." On the zeque or ceque of Cuzco, see Ondegardo (Part 2), pp. 3-43.

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succession of waka, temples, and /123/ sacred places which spread out from Cuzco into the distance toward the interior of the dominiums in every direction. It is not astonishing to find in Chipaya an arrangement peculiar to the former capital of the empire in miniature. The Inca villages were faithful reproductions of the arrangement of the great centers, or, properly speaking, cities and villages were not fundamentally distinguishable from each other.

I 361

U 823 82 [361] [789]

It is not by chance that all the huts in Chipaya are oriented toward the rising sun. Here also the Chipaya obey ancient religious traditions. This cardinal point exerts a real tyranny over the postures which the officiants and the crowd of faithful assume during the pagan-Christian ceremonies. The victims offered to the demons have their throats slit facing the east; it is also toward the east that the magician turns to make his prayers and offerings. The ancient tombs of the pre-Colombian populations on the altiplano, the chullpas, always have their door on the eastern side, a fact which had been noted already in the sixteenth century by Cieza de León. The modern Indians explain this concern with orientation by a myth which is unfortunately too garbled to allow reconstruction of its primitive version. Aside from one chapel

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consider the Uro of the desert of Carangas as the last representatives of the old civilization of the Bolivian puna as it was up to the seventeenth century. To judge from their modern ethnography, nothing other than language must have formerly distinguished an Aymara Indian from a Čipaya. If the "superstitions" of the Aymara and the Čipaya are the same, they have been preserved in a purer and more complete form among the latter.

Divinities and sacred objects. The principal divinities which the Čipaya worship are various saints (San Felipe, San Jerónimo, Santiago, Santa Ana, the patroness of the village, the Earth-mother (Pača-mama) likened to the Virgin, some weakly individualized demons (Čunkirini-mal'ku, Estewan-mal'ku, Kemperani-mal'ku, etc.), the mountains on their horizon, the Samaja in particular, the Lauca River, and their church tower (Turi-mal'ku).

The houses are protected by a spirit, the patio mal'ku, and by stuffed animals (wildcat, hawk) which are the object of a strictly household worship.

/328/ The saints and the Pača-mama. As will be seen in the description of religious ceremonies, saints are put on the same level as gods or demons and receive libations and blood sacrifices. They have not been substituted for old pagan divinities, as has been the case in other regions of the altiplano, but have been simply added as supernumaries to the list of demons and protecting spirits of the Čipaya.

The Pača-mama (the Earth-mother), without doubt the principal one of the pagan divinities of the Čipaya, is constantly confused with the Virgin, and the Indians declare both that the Virgin is the Earth-mother and that the Earth-mother is the Virgin. They do not know her by the name of Maria but always by that of Virxina, which they make follow the word for earth (taika). Offerings of coca, alcohol, and llama fetus are made to the Pača-mama, and the earth is kissed as a sign of respect toward her. I did not attend any ceremony which could be considered as worship

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/334 cont./

The word apu, which formerly signified "chief" and which consequently is synonymous with mal'ku and auki, is today used to designate demons or spirits.

The cones of earth, which are mal'ku par excellence, play a foremost role in the religious life of the Čipaya. The majority of the solemn festivals of these Indians are in their honor. When in a sacrifice the magician offers the victim's blood to the mal'ku, he never fails to sprinkle the four cardinal points with it while uttering the name of the mal'ku who live in each quarter of space.

The samiri. The worship of the samiri constitutes the most interesting aspect /335/ of the pagan religion of the Čipaya. The samiri are flat stones of calcareous origin with no set shape. Those of the saya tuanta are kept in a small cellar about 40 cm. deep and 60 cm. long, situated about ten kilometers from the village, in the area where the wretched pastures give way to the sands of the puna. The pit is housed on a knoll and carefully hidden under a yareta.

The samiri are supposed to protect the livestock, and in the prayers addressed to them a distinction is drawn between the samiri of the llamas, those of the pigs, and those of the sheep, and it is from them that the increase of these animals is awaited. The Čipaya also call samiri a stuffed lamb which they bury within the fold to watch over the flock. The word samiri is thus equivalent to konopa, a generic term which was used to designate the fetishes or amulets upon which the ancient Peruvians depended for the prosperity of their herds, their fields, or their houses (1).

1. On the konopa, the compilation of Jijón y Caamaño, La religión del Imperio de los Incas, pp. 99-103, and Latcham, Las creencias religiosas de los antiguos Peruanos, pp. 55-62, may be consulted.

/368 cont./

*796 A notable detail is that during the whole day a little khoa burned a few meters from the gathering.

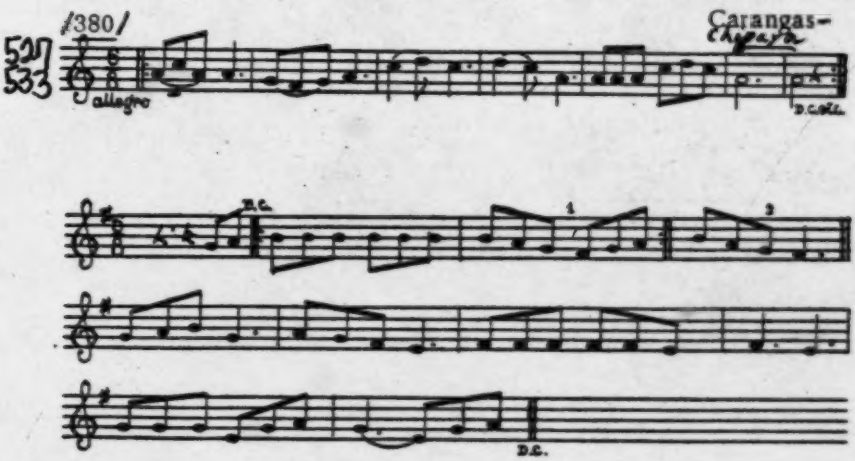
[533 202] The end of the ceremony was announced by the beating of a drum in a special rhythm.

Second day. In the afternoon the alfereza, her son, and an Officiant met in front of their saya's chapel. Not having been alerted, I arrived at the place only at the moment when the latter had finished preparing the mixture destined to be offered as a libation. I have every reason to believe that the ingredients added to the water or to the chicha in the 36 small cupules were the same as in the previous festivals. As usual the Officiant had planted a sacred stick (kaman-para) garnished with a cross in front of him facing east. He offered up the customary libations on his knees. The contents of two phials were poured before the cross that stands about ten meters from the chapel door. The Officiant had put some coca leaves in two cupules probably containing alcohol, before pouring them as a libation in front of his stick. The yatiri, his helper, and two of those present knelt before the carpet and kissed the ground; then the Officiant, getting up, sprinkled the four corners of a little oratory situated near the chapel with chicha. A long prayer was then said, in which Christian names were mingled with those of the mal'ku, and the Officiant headed toward the chapel after having touched the oratory with his stick and kissing it devotedly. The alfereza and her son went to pray on the steps of the chapel, and all began the usual drinking, congratulating and greeting each other.

● [1118]

The alfereza had covered a small table with coca, where all came to help themselves /369/ in turn. Those who took this coca first touched the table with the hand and kissed it as a sign of respect.

*796 437 The assembly, very sparse in the beginning, became more numerous, upon which the market of the alasita took place. The Indians, both men and women, bought from each other small



527 Thus costumed the Cipaya devoted themselves to the most
535 monotonous of dances, the one which I described in connection
574 with the festival of the samiri (p. 83). The circles broke up from time to time to form processions which, at a running pace, under the white banners of the alferez's, approached the neighboring saya or came to a halt before a hut whose owner offered drinks to
[616] everyone. Although the members of each saya prefered to dance on their own territory, visits to neighboring saya were frequent and sometimes led to a mingling which contrasted with the rigorous separation usually in force.

527 In a few huts belonging to some alferez's a table, transformed
[718] into an altar, had been set up with the consecrated sheaves of
[824] straw and the heads and feet of the animals slaughtered for the
[837] festival. Groups went there to offer up libations and to dip into the pile of coca placed before the victims' snouts.

527 The festival proceeded in this fashion for a whole week.
[533] At night the young girls would gallop through the village holding each other by the hand, singing their melancholy songs, and a few
[273] madmen offered up libations until dawn. The scarcity of alcohol
[54] did not allow suppressed passions to be unleashed, and I was not
[171] present for any of those brutal orgies in which the Aymara surpass themselves. They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and

/380 cont./ They scarcely, I believe, had a few quarrels and exchanges of blows, and I did not see any of the public copulations to which Carnival festivals often give rise among the Aymara.

The following Sunday, the last day of the Carnival festivities, was particularly lively. All the clans had joined together and were dancing in a compact mass. The church tower had been decorated with garlands of /381/ fruit, cheeses, and bread, and a sheep immolated in its honor. The four corners and the bells had been sprinkled with its blood.

The prayer to the Tower, a demon which, like the Čunkirini-mal'ku, is common to the two saya, was recited in the course of this sacrifice:

Turi-mal'ku,	Ťawk	mal'ku,	Santa Ana,	mal'ku	tuanta,
Tower-demon,	great	demon,	Saint Anne,	demon	east,

taxatištan,	maitiñi,	roktiñi	hasiki
west of	he who obtains,	who prays,	in this moment,

suma,	waino,	tiempo	ťmaitišimal'a,	wale,	wale,
good	young	weather	hearken to me,	good,	good,

suma	wata	ťmaitišiña	t apa	serwintišta.
good	year	grant us	all	servants to.

"Demon of the tower, great divinity, Saint Anne, demon of the Tuanta and Taxata saya, our intercessor, thou who prayest, make us at this time have propitious and good weather, grant us a good, very good year to all of us, thy servants."

The spectators lined up in two rows face to face and exchanged their bags of coca and their last drinking cups of alcohol. Some of them, the most important, had separated themselves from the assembly and offered up their libations to the demons and the guardian saints, kneeling before their sacred sticks. A colleague stood in front of them to say the responses.

2:Métraux--132 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Plate XI

A.— Indian kneeling before a mal'ku.

B. —Ritual slaughter of a sheep.

C. —Ritual consecration of a llama: libation of alcohol and offering of coca.

D. —Ritual slaughter of a llama.

2:Métraux--134 E-6 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Carangas-
Chipaya

Plate XIII

A. – Festival of the samiri: the alferez and alferesa behind the sacred sheaves.

B. – Festival of Estewan mal'ku: magician offering up a libation; in back, the Estewan mal'ku.

C. – Festival of Estewan mal'ku: magician with his assistant preparing the Cal'a (libation and offerings) destined for the demon whose effigy dripping with blood stands in the background.

D. – Festival of Estewan mal'ku: the kneeling magician receives mugs from the hands of his assistant, the contents of which he offers to the demons.

2:Métraux--135 E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SF24 Uru SF24

Carangas—
Čipaya

Plate XIV

A. — Festival of the Comadres (February 2). Dance around a banner.

B. — Festival of the mal'ku: Indian beating a drum near the effigy of a demon (mal'ku).

C. — Čipaya Indian in prayer before the cupules containing magical substances.

D. — Čipaya Indian in his festival attire (wig, festive slings, etc.).

2:Métraux--137 . E-5 (1930-1931) 1935, 1936 SFD4 Urs SF24

Plate XVI.

Caranga-Chipaya

A. – Coca bag covered with a sort of "velvet" and used only during festivals.
B. – Festive sling.
C. – Wig worn by the men during festivals.
D. – Sacred stick (kamana-para).
E. – Rope cross hung on the roof of the huts.
F. – Perforated potsherds used as money during the festival of the alasita.

Smithsonian--144 E-5 (1950-1951) 1935, 1936 1954 Uru 1954
Carnegie--
Chipaya

/158 cont./

who mentions them seems to consider them as /158/ indigenous. The smoke escapes through the door, but in some huts, not very many it is true, a hole in the wall facilitates ventilation.

Enormous wool blankets (*tuni*), extremely heavy, take the place of beds. They are warm enough for one to suffice to cover for the night two or three people, who roll themselves in them. At the beginning of the seventeenth century these blankets were in general use on the altiplano. "The bed which the people of the Sierra and the cold lands use," Cobo tells us, "is a large blanket called a *chuni*, which is spread on the ground. One half serves as a mattress and the other, which they pull up from the foot end, as a blanket or sheet. All the inhabitants of one house, fathers and sons, sleep in one blanket, although now under the influence of civilization they are beginning to have separate beds." The present-day Andean Indians sleep on earth benches which are altogether lacking in Chipaya. One might conclude from this that they were unknown in pre-Columbian times and that they are only a crude imitation of European beds.

In some Chipaya huts one can find a wobbly table made of mud bones. The Chipaya use them only as an altar on which to place the heads of sacrificed animals or coca that they offer their guests when they celebrate a festival at home. Outside of these occasions the tables have no use.

Several wooden pegs thrust into the wall serve as pegs for clothes. The few articles to be seen are arranged in niches contrived in the wall or on small shelves of earth shaped like swallows' nests (Fig. 2, *F* *See* p. 156/).

To illuminate the always very dark interior of their huts, the Chipaya have tallow candles or, more frequently, very primitive small lamps: bowls (*tua*), full of tallow in which a wick of wool burns. This apparatus, which gives them only feeble light, has the Spanish name *mecha*, a practically certain indication that the idea came to them from the Creoles.

2.665mss--172 B-9 (1930-1931) 1955, 1958 SFDA Ura SFDA
Caraipe-
Cipaya.

/160/mss./

The aaya tanata (west) owns a very old, very large drum, the only one of its kind in the village; unfortunately, the Indians did not want to sell it to me at any price, alleging that it was the property of the whole community. Its construction was, from what I could see, similar to that of the round tambourine which I have just described. A very special importance devolved on this drum during the festival /161/ /Figure 8 appears here./ /162/ of the Comadres. During the whole day it remained hanging from a flagstaff and was the object, at the same time as the standard, of real worship.

The drum bears in Cipaya the Spanish name caja. We should not conclude from this that the instrument is of Spanish origin among them. Some details at the most are of pre-Columbian origin, but they are not numerous. The "drum cord," for example, is certainly an element added to it in the course of the centuries which followed the conquest. It is possible that for lack of flexible wood to make round drums, the Cipaya were obliged to make them with boards from old boxes and consequently to modify the original type.

Wind instruments.

Trumpets. Cipaya trumpets are of the most rudimentary kind: they are made up of a cow's horn sawed off near the point and of a bell formed of the dried tail of the same quadruped.

Only very rarely did I see the Cipaya make use of this instrument, which makes a hollow sound resembling the lowing of one in the state of having breath of exceptional power. The trumpets which figure in all the festivals play the role of ritual or decorative accessories in them. They are placed in front of the sacred sheaves or on the table in front of the heads of the sacrificed animals. They bear the name /'ɲa/ in Cipaya.

Clarinets (Fig. 8, F /see p. 173/), which like trumpets have a cow horn for a bell, also have a reed mouthpiece from which a small tongue has been cut out and smoothed to make it more flexible, so that it would be easier to play on. It has been raised by means of a string passing under its lower part. It is made to vibrate by

[NEXT Continues on p 174]

Smithsonian--181 E-6 (1930-1931) 1935. 1936 SF24 Uru SF24
Caranga:—
Chipaya
Modern Quechua SF24

/188 cont./

Some families still have k'ero, i.e., large wooden mugs (3).

3. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVII. D.

beautiful specimens of which have been recovered in Peru. These vessels come out of their hiding-places only at festival time and are used only for libations of chicha. According with the ancient Inca way, they are always presented in pairs in the same way as the drinking cups of alcohol. The k'ero which I saw in the hands of the Čipaya lack decoration, but the greyish substance which adheres to them is without doubt all that remains of the lacquer which covered the outside surface of it. These pieces are not easy to get, for the Indians consider them of great value and are very attached to them. They assert, perhaps rightly, that they date from the Inca period.

The bowl (umaña) in the bottom of which allama with its young has been modeled (4) is destined to hold the chicha which the

4. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVII. A.

Indians pour out as a libation in honor of the Pachamama when they request fecundity of the herds from her.

No Čipaya but lacks one or two palm-wood sticks with a rope for suspension (5). These sticks (kamana-para) which are the /189/

5. Cf. Journal, Vol. XVII.
Pl. XVI. D.—Among the Quichua of Acomayo, to become manáki or campo it is indispensable to have made "the voyage to the valleys to bring back palms /palmes/ for certain religious ceremonies, such as the promenades after mass on Palm Sunday."

/189 cont./

after mass on Palm Sunday." It is not impossible that the palm /palmier/ wood of the Čipaya corresponds to these "palms" of the Quichua. Cf. Ordóñez (Dr. Pastor), "Los Varayocc." Revista Universitaria. Cuzco, eighth year, No. 29, September, 1919, p. 43.

guardians of the house are worshiped with libations and fumigations. They are also indispensable accessories for the magicians who always plant them before themselves when they are going to make a prayer or a sacrifice to the demons. One must also not forget among the objects used in worship the baked clay censers which are shaped like a footed cup, and the small cupules for libations.

Division of Labor

	Men	Women	
House-building	+	-	
Straw rope	-	+	
Spinning	+	+	
Weaving	-	+	
Weaving with treadle loom	+	-	
Cooking	-	+	
Livestock care	+	+	(preferably the children)
Cheese	-	+	
Milking of the sheep	-	+	
Shearing of the sheep	+	-	
Rope-making	+	-	

*539 /182 cont./ also the Uru do not have any
81 apachete /piles of stones in the hills/, offering places /183/
[918] at spots struck by lightning, whereas these little monuments
[191] are very frequent among all the neighboring native populations.
[150] However, our informant, an Uru, Carlos Kispe, is very frightened
[829] of storms. The reason for this is undoubtedly that only the pure
Uru enjoy this immunity, not bastards nor those of mixed blood.
[848] Now our informant, although part of the Uru group, was father-
less, "hána hęp' ǰeš- čay," "no father is," "an illegitimate
son," a very frequent case, whose father is unknown. He did
not at all insist on submitting to the test of lightning to be
[916] assured of his pure Uru ancestry. If an Uru is struck by thunder,
[849] drowned, or even dies of pneumonia -- dangers against which
[848] the true Uru are protected -- everyone sees it as indisputable
proof of illegitimate and foreign paternity.

*539 From the point of view of vocabulary this text shows the
191 same irregularities as the preceding text by the same informant
192 (V) /see p. 15/ frequent elisions of final vowels: ča instead of
čay; the repeated use (1-7) of wáli, "much," an Aymara form
not found in the texts nor in the numerous phrases gathered
from the other informant. 2. wáli- píni, association of an
Aymara word and an Uru word with the same meaning to rein-
force the idea; we find an analogous case in ti- hún (5), the
Uru-Spanish association already noted. 2. hána Kála či čúña,
"not good good is," association of two words of almost identical
meaning to reinforce the idea: "this is not good at all." 3. The
particle -kála after the verb "to go" has the exact meaning
of ex in Latin, literally exit. 4. The correct form would be
war- tis. 6. háske indicates a very distant fact, an idea still
more strengthened by the suffix -ta, sign of the past: "a very
long time ago."

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

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PLATE 119.—Chipaya sacrificial rites.

[P. 582-G]

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

not raise guinea pigs, as do most of the altiplano tribes, and have only a few chickens. Their primitive agriculture is limited to the cultivation of a little quinoa on the tribally owned lands which are distributed yearly by the mayor to families at the fiesta of San Andrés (November 30). Their principal industry and chief source of wealth is cheese made of sheep milk. The *Chipaya* eat a number of wild tubers and occasionally hunt vicuñas and small rodents.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

About 1930 there were some 350 *Chipaya* in Carangas, which was physically divided into nonexogamous moieties, called "East" and "West," each with its own mayor. The moieties form rival and very antagonistic groups. They fight each other on occasion and kill each other's pigs and sheep for trespassing. The *Chipaya* kinship system, like that of the *Uru*, is much influenced by the *Aymara*. Descent is patrilineal, and residence patrilocal for a year or until the birth of the first child or two. All *Chipaya*, without exception, are bilingual and speak *Aymara* fluently; indeed, ordinarily they speak *Uru* only among themselves at home.

Their music and folklore are entirely *Aymarized*.

RELIGION

The religion of the *Chipaya* does not differ from that of the *Aymara* of the same region. Some rites, however, may have been better preserved among the *Chipaya* than in communities more open to outside influences.

Chipaya religion is a blend of pagan and Christian beliefs and practices, with a strong predominance of the former.

The main *Chipaya* deities, to whom they render a public cult, are the Saints (San Felipe, Jerónimo, and Santa Ana, the protector of the village), the Earth Mother, Pachamama, who is often confused with the Virgin Mary, a host of spirits (*malku*) with little individuality (Chunkirini-*malku*, Kemperani-*malku*, Estewan-*malku*), the mountains seen from the village (among them, Nevada de Sajama), the Lluuca River, and the tower of the church (Torre-*malku*). The *samiri* are sacred stone fetishes on which the prosperity of the village hinges.

Family houses are protected by a spirit (*patio-malku*), represented by stuffed spotted cats or hawks, which are worshiped only by the members of the household.

Public cults.—The most important *Chipaya* deity is Pachamama, or Earth Mother. She is not worshiped on a special date, like the *malkus* and saints, but is associated with every *Chipaya* ceremony, public or private. She is invoked in most prayers and is offered coca, libations of chicha, and grease balls decorated with plants and silver

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

paper. Llama foetuses are burned in her honor, and whenever an Indian drinks he makes a libation for her. At the end of a feast, the Indians kiss the earth to show their devotion to her.

The malku, next in importance, are represented by whitewashed cones of sod 3 to 4½ feet (1 to 1.50 m.) tall, set on low platforms in isolated and secret spots about 10 miles from the village. Each moiety has its own malku which are worshiped on fixed dates.

The moiety samiri are calcareous stones of irregular shape which are kept in a stone-lined pit in the desert, hidden under a yareta plant.

The cult of the malku and that of the samiri follow the same pattern.

Every feast is sponsored by an alférez and his wife, who are the masters of ceremony. The high point is the sacrifice of the three animals on which the *Chipaya* depend for their subsistence: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. The officiating priest is a yatiri—a man who knows the religious prayers and how to prepare the libations to be offered. The blood of the victims is mixed with flours made of various kinds of maize and cast to the four directions. What is left is poured on the cones or samiri stones.

The libations are prepared in small cupulae and in small bottles, which are lined up in a set order. Their formulae are complicated and include a great many magic ingredients (chicha, "servaica," that is, mineral powders of various colors, herbs, turquoise beads, gold and silver paper, etc.). The content of each cupula is poured separately with prayers to the Saints, the malku, and Pachamama. Grease balls, with plants stuck in them, and candles are buried for Pachamama. Khoe, an odiferous resinous plant, is burned in special incense burners. Other objects such as grass bundles decorated with ceremonial slings, eggs, wreaths made of sliced fruits, and bread and cheese are displayed by the alférez and carried during the dances. The prayers and the material symbols always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the multiplication of the herds. The prayers, though directed to pagan deities, are often strongly marked by Christian elements. The day after a feast there is always a communal meal in the village during which the sacrificed animals are consumed and prayers recited.

Carnival is also a very important pagan feast *celebrated jointly by* the two moieties. The desired fertility is symbolized by huge wreaths of fruits and cheese hung from the church's towers and by the outfit of the dancers, who carry bundles of fresh grass, strings of blown eggs, dead ducks, stuffed vicuñas, and other objects. Dances to the sound of quenas accompany every feast.

Private cults.—When a house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood sprinkled against the walls and roof. On certain occasions, such as the return to the village after a long absence, a sheep is sacri-

5:La Barre E-5 (1937-1938) 1946
SF24 Uru SF24
Chipaya

ficed to the house spirits, and a cup of blood is presented with all kinds of offerings and decorations to the stuffed cat, which is kept in a corner.

The herds of each family are protected by a special samiri—a stuffed sheep buried ritually in a corral together with offerings of blood, herbs, and coca, and with a box containing images of sheep made of grease, mineral powders, flowers, sweets, and several other magical substances.

Whenever an animal is slaughtered for food, a short ceremony takes place with offerings of coca and chicha. The head is placed on an improvised altar decorated with flowers, on which they also place coca and the cupulae with the sacred mixture. The natives salute the head, offer it coca, and pour a few drops of chicha or alcohol in its honor.

After shearing the llamas and sheep, the *Chipaya* make libations on the wool and offer coca and chicha to small clay images of sheep and llamas. These images are also deposited on Christmas Eve on the church's main altar.

Shamanism.—Certain diseases attributed to supernatural causes are treated by the yatiri. He makes the usual libations and offerings, and kills a sheep by pulling out its heart, which is placed on the ailing region of the patient's body.

Divination is practiced by the examination of a bunch of coca leaves.

FOLKLORE

Chipaya folklore is essentially the same as that of the *Aymara*. The tales collected by Métraux (1935 c, pp. 395–415) deal with the misfortunes of Fox, the trickster, who is fooled by Condor and Duck. The motifs of the magic pregnancy and of the miraculous recognition of the unknown father which form part of the myth of Coniraya, recorded by Francisco Davila, in Huarochiri, occur also in a *Chipaya* tale. Other elements of the same tale show close relationship with *Chiriguano* folklore. The *Chipaya* represent themselves as the last survivors of the chullpa people who have been exterminated by the Sun, an obvious survival of the myth of the destruction of mankind as told in the ancient Andean mythology.

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6: Ruiz and Roca Y-3 (ca.1956) 1957 SP24 Uru SP24
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Indigenista

Población Chipaya del Altiplano boliviano.—*Foto Instituto Lingüístico de Verano de Bolivia.*

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[title page]

evidently there has been mingling with the Killas since types of features characterstic of that group are to be found.

Aside from their agricultural and pastoral activities, the most outstanding feature of this village is its religion, which, although it does not basically differ much from the Aymara believes and rites, has been preserverd in a purer form. Their idolatry is characterized principally

Group of Chipaya Indians.—*Photo Summer Institute of Linguistics in Bolivia.*

by the veneration and deification of geographic accidents such as mountains, rivers, stones, etc. And even the tower of the church appears to have impressed them for in the village they call it *Mallku Mayor*. Likewise, scattered about the village and its surroundings we find small towers of temples also called *Mallkus*, which represent without distinction demons and saints of the church.

Having had the privilege of living for almost a month among the Chipayas, we believe we are obliged to make a few recommendations to the government agencies concerned in view of the existing situation

[English text continues on p. 219]

7:Luis Camacho J-3 (no data) 1960 SP24 Uxu SP24

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Chipaya

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Chipaya woman

Below: Chipaya sacrificial sites

Felicia Camacho J-8 (no date) 1980 SP94 Un SP94
Chipaya

They are often reinforced with rawhide bindings, and are handled with great care. The *flauta de pico* is blown through a mouthpiece at the end. To make this kind of flute the Chipayas use the curved branches of the tola shrub, which gives these instruments their distinctive shape.

They also use the *ayo*, a round stone that gives out strange sounds through a hole in its center. Played with the other instruments, it produces a heavy music, slow and melancholy. The sound emitted depends on the size of the stone and the way it is struck.

Pottery making is unknown today among the Chipayas, and probably has been for many generations, since all their words for pottery are Aymara. The Chipaya women bring water from the Lauca River in very large jars, carrying them on their shoulders with the help of an ingeniously knotted cord of llama wool, exactly in the manner shown on ancient Chimu vases. From time immemorial the Chipayas have made beautiful coiled baskets of straw.

Chipaya religion, a blend of pagan and Catholic features, is basically the same as that of the Aymaras, although it probably preserves the pagan aspects in purer form. Pachamama, the Earth Mother, is the favorite goddess, and is often confused with the Virgin Mary. They also worship St. Philip, St. Jerome, and St. Ann; a host of spirits called *wallatas*; the Lauca River; the nearby moun-

[P.22-B]

Luis Camacho J-3 (no date) 1960 SP24 Uru SP24
Chipaya

taina; and the tower of the village Catholic church, which is regarded as a particularly powerful fetish and is known as *Mallcu Mayor*. The other *mallcus* are represented by small conical sod towers scattered around the countryside. Sacred stone fetishes or *samiri* protect the prosperity of the village; in the homes, a stuffed wildcat or hawk serves as a protective household spirit. When a new house is built, a sheep is sacrificed and its blood is sprinkled on the roof and walls.

One of the principal fiestas comes on New Year's Eve. At Carnival time, an important fertility rite is celebrated; chuno and other foods—symbolic of the desired abundance—decorate the church tower and the dancers.

The high point of the ceremonies in honor of the deities is the sacrifice of the three main animals on which the Chipayas depend: a llama, a sheep, and a pig. These will be eaten at a communal feast the next day. The officiating *yatiri*, or priest, offers the blood, mixed with flour, to the four directions, and pours it on the *mallcu* cones and the *samiri* stones. The prayers always express the longing for fertility, for water, and for the increase of the herds. Alcoholic libations are offered, and much alcohol is consumed at the major festivals. The usual monotony of daily life is forgotten. Dancing goes on far into the night, as the slow, mournful music of the flutes and drums dispells for a while the grim, cold silence of this empty land.

[P. 22-C]

8:Fain T-5 (ca.1954) 1955
SF24 Uru SF24

his *Historia y Moral de las Indias*, and this opinion is repeated by others. But I am under the impression that they are an unhappy race living during centuries among hostile populations, oppressed and ill-treated, finding consolation in their age-old traditions. They have nearly come to the end of their human cycle on the shores of the lake which, to them, is a holy site. Some strange belief forbids these fishermen to learn to swim, perhaps Titicaca claims from time to time a sacrifice to which they must freely consent.

Professor Vellard had arranged with KENNETH WASSON, the Director of Bolivia Films, to make a colour-documentary with some sound records on the Uru. He suggested that I might join them in the capacity of a photographer. Kenneth had his two assistants, JORGE ROJAS and AUGUSTO ROCA, and a young professor, RICHARD ARBELOT was also included in the expedition. As the length of time required to make the film was uncertain — the aptitude of the Uru for movie-work being an unknown quantity — we thought it wise to take some provisions. I suggested including a Primus stove, but the professor said we could heat our food on one of the village fires. The nights at nearly 14.000 ft. are apt to be extremely cold, so providing ourselves with sleeping bags, rugs and a quantity of photographic material, we set out early one sunny winter morning.

Our road led past the ruins of Tiahuanacu. The site is extensive and was an important Aymara religious and political centre. It remains one of the most interesting pre-Columbian monuments known in South America, but not by any means the oldest, the architectural remains and tombs of the coastal civilizations of Perú date from a far earlier period, and it is certain that the same applies to sites in Columbia. Naturally, the most extravagant theories are extant as to its origin, one of the most popular myths being that at the period of the mythical Atlantis it had been a seaport, Brazil and the Amazon being supposedly under the sea; but less romantic and

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9:La Barre E-4,5 (1938) 1941
SF24 Uru SF24

calling themselves "Bukina" or "Pukina," which agrees with the synonymy of Ehrenreich, Hervas, *et al.* The "*Urequillas*" of the early chroniclers appears to have meant the Uru; but Chamberlain's "Urinsaya" is the name of a *moiety*, not of the tribe, and is moreover an Aymará word.

Bertonio, a missionary of the late 16th century, gives the Aymará name, probably opprobrious, "*Kiuchacatati:* Big-livered [People], Nickname of the Puquinas." Chamberlain notes the Quechua name for the Uru as *Yuracare*, but Mossi says their Quechua designation is *Urocalla*. Paredes says the Aymára call the Uru "*Chancumanakheris*" [etymologized by my interpreter as *čanku-manq'eri*, lit. "water-*kalcko*-eaters," i.e. eaters of the water-plants of the genera *Myriophyllum*, *Potomogeton*, *Cladophora*, *Elodea*, and *Chara*] or "Chancu." The tradition was that their ancestors were brought from the Pacific coast by the great Colla or Aymára conqueror, Tacuilla, but the Aymára say that the "*achachila*" or place-deity of the Uru is the swamp itself, much as Mt. Illimani is the place-deity of the Aymára in its region. Neveu-Lemaire[102] says that the Uru were the group from whom the Inca exacted the famous tribute of lice.

Posnansky notes several place-names—Urubamba, Urupampa, Urmiri, Urucollo, Uru-Uru (Oruro), and others—which he believes incorporate the name Uru, but these are etymologizable in Aymará, in which language "uru" means "day," or according to some authorities "worm."[103] Polo suggests the implausible etymology from "uri" (Aymará "unconquered, brave"); but in the 17th century "uro" or "uru" seems to have been in current use in the sense of "dirty, ragged, rustic," etc. A punning proverb, "De indio Uro ningun hombre esta seguro" ("No man is safe from an Uru Indian"), appears to testify to the treachery of an incompletely subjected minority.

Temperament. The temperament of the Uru has been spoken of in no very flattering terms by all who have known them. Acosta said that they were so brutish as not even to have considered themselves human: "Son estos *Uros* tan brutales que ellos mismos no se tienen por hombres." Garcilaso de la Vega called them "rudos y torpes," rude and stupid. Even the

[102] Neveu-Lemaire, *Les Lagos, LX–LXI;* this authority also says that the name of the Departamento of Oruro and its capital city in Bolivia comes from the reduplication "Uru-uru." Other authorities in this paragraph not heretofore listed: Arturo Posnansky, *Antropología y Sociología de las Razas Interandinas y de las Regiones Adyacentes* (La Paz, 1937), p. 59; Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Aymara*, Juli (Chucuito) [Peru] 2 vols. 1612 [facsimile edition, J. Platzmann, Leipzig 1869] vol. 2, p. 301; Honorio Mossi, *Diccionario Quechua* (Sucre, 1860); Rigoberto Paredes, *Mitos, Supersticiones y Supervivencias Populares de Bolivia*, 2nd ed. (La Paz, 1936), p. 23.

[103] In connection with the meaning "day" see the myth in Métraux JSAP 27: 305 ff.